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New Republic

WHY I OPPOSED WILSON

By Wayne L. Morse

CAN WE AVOID WAR WITH RUSSIA?

By George F. Kennan

Reviews by:

Stephen Spender on

FEDERICO GARCIA LORCA

Gerald Johnson on

ACTON'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

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JAN 29 1953

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Letters

What Are You Going to Do About It?

● Precinct four, ward four, City of Urbana, Illinois, reporting, as requested. (Maury Maverick in Letters, *NR*, Jan. 19.)

As Democratic candidate for aldermen from my ward, I guess I have as good an excuse as anyone to make our local report. And though our story is as different from yours as the prairies of Illinois differ from the plains of Texas, it is still the same as the boundaries of a great united country.

We're just as sore as you are—maybe a little sorer, because we had such personal interest in our candidate for the Presidency. But the interesting thing about the campaign to us is our rapid growth toward some sort of political maturity. The ardent union behind Adlai Stevenson in our community brought together the local party, the university people and members of both twin cities. Yes, we fell apart after the defeat—for a few days. It hit us pretty hard. But it is interesting to note that the Democratic Women's Organization brought out a hundred members to its pot luck supper *following* election day, whereas its batting average up to that time (the campaign excepted) was about 10 a meeting. Idealistic faculty members have bowed to the political wisdom of the local party; local party members have honestly rejoiced in the energy and resources of the faculty—at the moment, it looks like a good revitalizing program for a party which in this part of the country needed a shot in the arm.

Here is what we're doing: we are staying organized, first and foremost; we are presently working toward our civic elections and finally we have our eye fastened pretty securely on the '54 elections, knowing that we have given (and hope to continue to give) a truly superior man to the Senate in Paul Douglas. We are battling against overwhelming odds, as our traditionally Republican state has gone overwhelmingly back to its tradition. And we may lose here in '53 and in '54. But the important thing is that we exist, are learning, and are growing.

Thank you for offering to sell us a subscription to the *New Republic*. We already own one. In the meantime, we want to join hands with other communities who know that elections are won in the precincts up through the cities, the counties, the states, and finally, after the groundwork has been properly laid, the country. That's what we're going to do about it.

Urbana, Ill. MRS. G. S. AMSBARY

Both Sides

● A few months back, having read occasional copies of the *New Republic* I sent you the $1 which brought me your magazine throughout the hectic days of the campaign. *NR* has become a necessity to me now in formulating any viewpoints on world topics. Both sides of every question must be studied before any accurate decision can be made. Too few people take time to, want to, or know how to get both sides of every picture. In the *New Republic* they can get "the other side"—what is not in most papers or is well hidden within them. . . .

Ithaca, N. Y. WALTER B. HALL

All Is Not Lost

● I am very glad to renew my subscription for the *New Republic*. I have found it not only informative but it is comforting and gives hope for the future. As long as even a few publishers, editors and reporters seek for and publish the truth all is not lost. . . .

Chicago, Ill. MRS. NELLE ZAROF

A Small Voice

● I am enclosing $6.50 for a year's subscription to take effect after my $1 subscription expires. I was convinced that the *New Republic* was for me after sampling the copies of the last few weeks. It is encouraging and inspiring and truly in the tradition of clear thinking Americanism. I believe honest news gathering is anathema to that segment of the press which caters to the soap and suds salesmen of Madison Avenue. . . .

So keep the *New Republic* coming my way. I like its integrity and honesty of purpose. Though a small voice overshadowed by the glossy giants it may eventually attract those Americans who act and think independently of hysteria and honky-tonk vote appeal.

Miami Beach, Fla. H. BARNETT

Keeping Stevenson Going

● I grow weary and a little irritated from hearing some of the halfbaked reasons offered by several self-styled "good Democrats" for voting for Eisenhower. Some of these reasons are so tortured as to be quite cockeyed.

As an ex-Republican (after voting for Hoover, Harding, Coolidge and Landon) please count on me for a small contribution for whatever plan of political activity that Adlai Stevenson may come up with, even if it means paying off old campaign expenses first. Certainly I hope the plan will include having him again talk sense occasionally during the next four years. His was such an unusual way to campaign that we must not be surprised that it could not succeed in two months where platitudes only were the well established fashion.

Highest regards to the *New Republic* and to T.R.B. whoever that sharp hombre may be.

Missoula, Mont. LEON C. HURTT

[The *New Republic* has returned contributions for a special Stevenson Fund sent in earlier with the suggestion that

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

On Both His Houses?

Senator J. McCarthy gets a plague for fighting Reds [today] at the Hotel Astor. . . . —*From Walter Winchell's column in the Washington* Post.

Thoughtful

The efficient Inaugural Housing Committee fills all kinds of requests. A Republican mogul asked for a room for his chauffeur and a heated garage for his car, explaining, "My chauffeur doesn't like to get into a cold car." The committee filled the request. —*From the Washington* Post.

That's Going Too Far

The point in the report [of the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation] with which we quarrel most basically, however, is a principle set forth as part of the commission's basic philosophy. "The same high quality of health service," it says, "should be available to all people equally." —*From an editorial in the Buffalo* Evening News.

Let Freedom Ring

There will be a three-year "transition period," during which the political parties will be banned to permit the establishment of democratic rule in Egypt, the government announced. — From a *Reuters* dispatch.

Well Protected

Vice President-elect Nixon came near to losing his coat when leaving the Inaugural Festival at Uline Arena last night. . . . four policemen—his personal escort—located it wadded up in a corner of the cloakroom. They were Pvts. L. W. Brewer, J. R. Panetta, J. W. Lockwood and R. Gould, all of the morals division. —*From the Washington* Post.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. — The Editors.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

No Inaugural Address can be completely bad that irritates Colonel McCormick. Ike delivered his with a touching sincerity and devotion but, for the life of us, we couldn't find a new idea in it. That just goes to show our naiveté, however. The Colonel denounced the internationalism that we had taken for granted and next day Chicago *Tribune* Columnist Pegler began giving Ike the works. We have been meditating the significance of this incident. Probably little, it is so easy to get the accolade of the Colonel's disapproval. Yet some day the doughty Colonel may get a new idea, and how we shall welcome it—we want to be there applauding on the sidelines when, at one spring, Colonel McCormick comes bounding into the 18th century.

Charles Wilson is joining Dicky Nixon in the exclusive Hound's Tooth Club, and all the papers are pointing out jubilantly what a blessing in disguise the whole unhappy incident really is for Eisenhower because it shows the sincerity of the great "Crusade." Well, our views are as follows. The Wilson episode is terribly bad publicity for the new Administration. It stamps indelibly on the minds of millions of voters the image of super-rich businessmen taking over government. It shows a business executive so bull-headed that it took him a week to comply with the law and so obtuse that he did not then (and possibly does not now) comprehend the legal and ethical principles involved. In pitiless dissection Wilson's case shows the kind of businessmen who have been denouncing the New Deal for 20 years, who feel the '52 victory was a mandate for themselves, whose philosophy is circumscribed with the phrase, "What is good for General Motors is good for the United States." Wilson obviously isn't going to be a success, and it's too bad for his sake that he has had to make the $600,000 sacrifice of his GM stock, probably in vain. We guess he will last about a year. But the incident is symbolic. Coolidge put the government in Wall Street; Roosevelt brought it to Washington, and Ike is handing it on to Detroit.

We often ask ourselves how much influence a weekly column like ours has, and we still don't know the answer though it is curious to note the following. In the December 15 issue of this magazine we commented casually, "Ike has picked a cabinet of eight millionaires and one plumber." The result was rather astonishing. We find the comment still traveling outward after being included by such excellent columnists as Alsop, Childs, Stokes, Fleeson and goodness knows how many others; it bounded the Atlantic into the London *Economist* and bounced back to America again in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*. Well, good luck, little quip—keep flying! Everybody in Washington, of course, likes to see his ephemeral comment take into the air and buzz away; no question of paternity is ever asked. Yet it does hint at the function and importance of a weekly Washington magazine that gets itself read, and is not awed by the fact that the 80-percent press is all looking the other way.

In 1952 there were 20 spectacular prison riots all over the United States; in 1953 there have been two more already. All of these riots have been in state, not federal prisons; such a series of flare-ups doesn't just happen, it comes because society has put men in brutal jails and then forgotten them. The federal prisons have a fine man as director: James V. Bennett. His 1952 annual report which can be obtained from the Justice Department is a text of reforms vitally needed. The core of it is threefold: a sound system of prisoner classification, trained personnel and a program of work. As the situation now

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stands America has a state prison machine designed as though on purpose to turn weak men into bad men.

We can't really tell much about the new Eisenhower Administration until the State of the Union speech. Save on the point of continued internationalism (which most of us took for granted anyway) the Inaugural gave no light. Circling in the air like buzzards are all of Ike's rash vote-getting campaign promises, waiting to pick up the scraps when his specific proposals finally come in contact with reality. Take, for example, the unfortunate Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Benson. He finds his agency buying butter at the rate of a million pounds a day, and he is already custodian of 40 million pounds. This butter is coming in because the government is maintaining the artificial 90-percent parity price. The market year on butter ends March 31 and the Scripps-Howard papers, which fanatically supported Ike in the campaign, urge him now to end the "butter fantasy." Ah, ha!—but have you forgotten that Ike carefully and specifically out-promised the Democrats at Kasson, Minn., September 6, when he told farmers he would give them a fair share —"and a fair share is not merely 90 percent of parity but full parity"? With that pledge Benson's toast is buttered.

Notes: The court has just upheld, five to four, segregation in restaurants in the District of Columbia; Ike promised categorically in the campaign: "We shall eliminate every vestige of segregation in the District of Columbia." . . . Your move, Ike. . . . Stevenson speaks at the Jefferson-Jackson dinner in N. Y., Feb. 14, over a nationwide hook-up. . . . Not since the day of Bishop Cannon of the Anti-Saloon League has the Senate been so terrified as it is of McCarthy and his Red issue; it is now doubling his committee's funds and firing all the investigators who caught him with the goods in his stock deals. . . . Time moves on: 10 Southern Senators have filed a joint resolution for a constitutional amendment outlawing the poll tax, a proposal unthinkable a decade ago.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

these donations be sent to the Democratic National Committee in Washington to help meet the campaign deficit. However, we will continue to list the names of those who write to us expressing a desire to contribute to a new Stevenson Fund if and when one is established at a later date. – THE EDITORS.]

Miss Shirley Auer, Rochester, N. Y.; Adrienne C. Curtis, Toledo, Ohio; Fay Favro, Seattle, Wash.; Mrs. Helen R. Fields, Coleta, Ill.; Edna M. Gourley, San Diego, Calif.; Eva Toni Greyl, New York City; Mr. A. H. Hartshorn, Jerome, Idaho; Mrs. Martha Hengst, Kaweah, Calif.; Miss Phyllis Jyostrup, Chicago, Ill.; Miss Isabel Kent, Hutchinson, Kansas; J. D. Powell, Houston, Tex.; Clarence E. Ross, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. H. Frederick Shaefer, Cincinnati, Ohio; Mrs. Jeanette Toldt, Sacramento, Calif.

Enough Is Enough

● Don't you think you have gnashed your teeth long enough over the recent election? No one is more convinced than I that the best man lost, but it must be a little frightening and more than a little embarrassing to Mr. Stevenson to be made such passionate verbal love to in public (*e.g.* your recent symposium, *NR*, Jan. 5). As Mark Van Doren pointed out, Stevenson has more than enough intelligence to make independently the decisions that are best for himself and for the country.

Madison, Wis. MIRIAM YLVISAKER

Gratifying Issue

● My congratulations on your exceedingly gratifying issue of January 5. The Herblocks were especially welcome.

. . . And also those expressions of confidence and goodwill addressed, through you, to Adlai Stevenson. The panel on "What Stevenson Started" did an admirable job, both on behalf of themselves and those of us who share their sentiments but hardly their talents. . . .

Akron, Ohio DOROTHY B. CASTLE

The Two Herr Struves

● One sentence in my article, "Was It Better Under Hitler?" (*NR*, Dec. 29) read: "Officials, even minor ones, could—and did—travel with their wives, and often left them comfortably installed in Paris or basking in Rome, as did, for example, Herr Struve while busy in Poland."

The Herr Struve to whom I referred, and the only one of whose existence I was aware, was one of the most notorious butchers in Poland during the war. After the Allied victory, he was apprehended in Germany, was tried and executed. But, unknown to me, there was *another* Herr Struve, Gustav Struve of Dresden, an old-time diplomat, from Dresden (Butcher Struve was from Pomerania, and was no relation). Gustav Struve, who was for two years on post in von Molke's Embassy in Poland before the war, was never there during. He only became an NSDAP member under pressure from von Ribbentrop long after the outbreak of the war. At the war's end, he was advised by the American Military authorities in Oberursel, by whom he had been interned, that there was not a single charge against him. From another camp where he had been sent for release formalities, he was caught up into a train-load of Germans, many of them really Gestapo and SS members only too rightfully demanded by the Polish Government, but also other men who had never set foot in Poland, certainly not during the war. Few of them returned alive. Struve was plundered to the skin on the way, and arrived naked in Poland unable to identify himself. Mistaken for the S. S. Struve, he met with a terrible death in prison, and his widow received a notice from the International Red Cross of his death "Gustav Struve, sent by error to Poland."

His widow was in Paris during the war, because as an American citizen, she had been forbidden to accompany her husband to Vichy. She worked as German Red Cross Librarian.

I naturally wish to do everything possible to clear up this tragic confusion between the two Herr Struves. . . . I also wish to offer Mrs. Gustav Struve my profound regrets for having perpetuated the confusion.

Princeton, N. J. ANNE FREMANTLE

The Rise of Naguib

● During the recent Egyptian revolt led by General Naguib, I had read several articles in various newspapers and in magazines such as *Life* and *Time* that led me to believe this revolt was led by democratic forces in Egypt. In your issue of December 15, Percy Winner tells of Naguib's rise to power with the help of German officers. This is quite disturbing and I'm afraid it is significant of the use of Fascist uprisings in various parts of Europe and probably Africa, too.

Cedar Rapids, Iowa FREDERICK J. MILLER

Lattimore, Vincent and Loyalty

● Congratulations on your hard-hitting and brave editorial, "Lattimore, Vincent and Loyalty," in the issue of December 29. It is a penetrating analysis of America's dilemma. . . .

Burnham, Pa. FRANK H. WOOD

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VOLUME 128, NUMBER 5, ISSUE 1992, WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY 2, 1953 **New Republic**

II. OPPOSITION—THE FAIR DEAL LEGACY

FROM THE moment of his acceptance speech at Chicago in 1932, Franklin D. Roosevelt held out to the "forgotten" men and women of the Hoover depression the hope of a "more equitable opportunity to share in the distribution of national wealth."

With recovery begun, he challenged Congress to address itself to

> the deeper purposes of democratic government. . . . to assist as many . . . citizens as possible, especially those who need it most, to improve their conditions of life, to retain all personal liberty which does not adversely affect their neighbors, and to pursue the happiness which comes with security and an opportunity for recreation and culture.

New Deal Congresses responded with the Social Security Act, the Wealth Tax, the Housing and Fair Labor Standards Acts.

Reform, Roosevelt insisted, was inseparable from recovery. The goal was to be economic abundance, with increasing purchasing power and social security for the population as a whole, not merely a return to high prices for industry and agriculture.

That was the social legacy of the New Deal. The Fair Deal, under Truman, faced with declining majorities in the Congress, was able to add to that legacy in only one major measure—the Employment Act of 1946. But that addition can be a saving weapon for liberals in the battles ahead.

The Full Employment Act established, for the first time, the responsibility of the federal government for assuring continuing high-levels of employment and production.

Its purpose, as President Truman pointed out in his last Economic Report to Congress on January 14, "carries beyond the essentially negative and intermittent objective of counteracting slumps. . . . It symbolizes the marshaling of the forces of private and public policy in support of a full and growing economy."

On the ability of the US to continue to expand its economy hangs the arch of the whole free world. Yet President Truman's Council of Economic Advisers, in its latest Annual Review, and economists generally warn of possible recession within the next 18 months.

Eisenhower has spoken of the necessity of "full employment at decent wages so that we are not dependent upon war and preparation for war for our prosperity. . . ." He pledged himself, speaking in the garment districts of New York City, to "mobilize all the resources of government . . . whenever necessary" to insure "jobs at good pay for all our working men and women." But his Federal Security Administrator, Oveta Culp Hobby, in her first speech since taking office, emphasized that this should be a "time for reassessment and reevaluation." "To junk at once all that came to us from the preceding Administration," Mrs. Hobby declared, "would be as unfair to the nation as to make permanent all past legislation which was intended as emergency measure." Are the protections of unemployment insurance and social security benefits to be called into question even as recession threatens?

Eisenhower's stated allegiance to the principle of government guarantee of "a high level of employment at high levels of wages" is explicit. But the Senate record shows that Taft and his followers did their best to prevent passage of a meaningful Full Employment Act, worked to water down and limit the bill and protested against any hint of "government assurance" of the right to work or of full employment, and to the bill's ultimate reliance on "federal investment and expenditure."

The role of the liberal opposition must be to strengthen Eisenhower in his pledge, to resist any retreat from it, and to reaffirm that reform is inseparable from economic growth.

To work for full employment, we must fight for:

1. Improving the distribution of our national wealth.

The steps taken in this direction during World War II are the basic reason we have had no postwar collapse. The problem now is to obtain a better balance in price-wage-profit relations as a means of creating the added purchasing power we expect to need in the next few years. Contrary to the common impression, as the report of the Council of Economic Advisers points out, "most real wages have not risen faster than the economy's general productivity gains, but instead in some important categories apparently have lagged significantly." For the long run, wages should be adjusted to keep pace with rises in productivity.

The government must do nothing to undermine collective bargaining if those adjustments are to be worked out.

2. Distribute the tax burden to bolster consumer buying. To lower taxes in 1953 will make it much more

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difficult to reduce taxes later on when the economy will be in the transition to a lower level of defense spending and could benefit most from tax reduction. As a matter of equity, estate and gift taxes which have little effect on consumption, should be increased to permit the reduction of excise taxes and changes in the rates and exemptions for personal income taxes to benefit low-income groups.

3. Extend Social Security. Old-age insurance has not kept pace with the cost of living nor with changing standards of adequacy. As President Truman pointed out in his last report to Congress, "What is enough in a $250 billion economy is not enough in a $350 billion economy, and will be still less than enough in a $400 or $500 billion economy. . . . The average retired worker and his wife receive about $70 monthly; a young widow with two children, $94. The need for improvement is obvious.

4. Achieve equality for agriculture. The farmers have not shared equally in recent economic advances. The average net incomes of farm workers continue to be only about half that of the average industrial worker. For human reasons, and also to raise purchasing power there should be more effort to improve productivity and incomes of the lower income farm families should be strengthened.

5. Assure decent housing. The "backlog" of demand for housing built up since World War II has now been largely worked off, and the number of new households formed is expected to decline in the next few years. But the great majority of American families want better houses than they have now and with continued high income, better housing will still be in great demand. Private builders will need government help with financing and research into inexpensive construction methods.

Getting ahead with the long-overdue slum clearance and low-rent housing program is well within our current productive capacity.

6. Prepare public development programs. The US highway system is "deteriorated and inadequate." It will take $30 billion to bring federal-aid highways up to standard. To meet enrollment requirements by 1958, 600,000 public elementary and secondary classrooms, costing more than $18 billion, will be needed. To increase the number and competence of teachers requires salary raises to keep pace with other professions. The President's Commission on Health Needs calls for 900,000 additional hospital beds, an outlay of about $1.8 billion a year for the next 10 years.

In the event of recession, state and local governments would spend less on such projects. The federal government could offset a short recession by stepping up construction of simple public buildings, but the heavy engineering-type projects must be planned far ahead if they are to be accelerated promptly enough to be of value in stabilizing the economy.

7. Help raise living standards abroad. The living standard has become inextricably entwined with that of all the world's peoples. Exports account for an ever-increasing percentage of our production, earnings and jobs. The dollar gap is a threat to all these for it forces nations to restrict imports from us while seeking to augment exports to us to pay for what they cannot buy elsewhere. To counter this threat and to end our dollar-aid programs, we must lower tariffs, throw out "peril-point" provisions, increase investments and guarantee minimum purchases of raw materials abroad, and join in a realistic North Atlantic convertibility system.

Essential as such steps are, however, they would only indirectly affect the problems Point Four was designed to meet head-on—the technological development of under-developed and overpopulated areas. Point Four has already made remarkable headway in generally helping peoples everywhere begin the long climb into the 20th century without imposing our particular cultural values upon them.

In his Inauguration Address, President Eisenhower said:

> Recognizing economic healths as an indispensable basis of military strength and the free world's peace, we shall strive to foster everywhere, and to practice ourselves, policies that encourage productivity and profitable trade. For the impoverishment of any single people in the world means danger to the well-being of all other peoples.
>
> . . . Honoring the identity and heritage of each nation . . . we shall never use our strength to try to impress upon another people our own . . . political and economic institutions.

Whether or not these broad pronouncements will be implemented by policy will largely depend upon the President's aides and advisers. There is cause for worry in the statements of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee two weeks ago. He said he would expect other nations to clear away their trade barriers (which they obviously cannot do first) if they want new tariff concessions from us. And, while approving of Point Four in the abstract, he claimed it had deteriorated into a policy of handouts, and thought it should be carried out "largely through private enterprise."

The social legacy of the Fair Deal is more than full employment; it is the promise of fundamental justice for all. But it is on the principle of the Full Employment Act that the liberal opposition must first form itself to hold the line.

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WHY I OPPOSED WILSON

by Wayne L. Morse

IN THE HISTORY of this country the record shows that there have been seven rejections of Cabinet nominations out of a total of almost 400. One of them occurred in the Administration of Andrew Jackson; four in President Tyler's Administration; one in President Johnson's Administration and one in President Coolidge's Administration.

When we make an analysis of all the confirmation fights in relation to Cabinet positions, there seem to be the following major criteria along with others more minor which the Senate applied. Those criteria can be summarized in these quotations:

Is this particular nominee loyal to our form of government?

Is he a man of good character?

Is he a man who possesses the competency to carry forward the policies of the President?

Is he mentally sound?

Does he in any way have a personal or selfish interest in connection with the particular position to which he has been nominated which, from the standpoint of public policy, would disqualify him in any respect for the office?

In the main we shall find that those criteria have been the ones which have guided the Senate.

Under the advice-and-consent clause of the Constitution the Senate does not have the power of appointment. It is not a question whether or not a President of the United States is appointing to his Cabinet a man whom any Senator would appoint if he were the appointive power. Under the Constitution the appointing power vests in the President of the United States.

After an analysis of the record, I am satisfied that the nominees submitted to us as a group, which did not include Charles E. Wilson for Secretary of Defense, met the tests I have just enumerated.

I think also, that each Member of the Senate was entitled at least to have what I sought, namely, an opportunity to study the record affecting each one of them.

I was well aware of the fact, and was well aware of it when I took a position in opposition to immediate confirmation in the face of the great desire to speed through the nominations so that we could go out to see the beautiful and symbolic Inaugural parade, that there would be those who would say that I was motivated by a spirit of vengeance, retaliation or vindictiveness.

Those who know me, of course, were aware that I would take the position I took irrespective of the action taken by the Senate in regard to what I considered to be my rights in connection with committee assignments.

My action was based entirely on my conviction that hasty action in confirming Cabinet nominees is a mistake and not in the public interest.

I could not substitute the committee's judgments for my own responsibilities.

I may say also that I have a great deal of respect for the wishes of the President of the United States, but I also have a great deal of respect for our system of checks and balances. They are applicable to the President as they are applicable to the Senate. His expression of a wish will not turn me at any time into a rubber stamp. I shall judge his requests on the basis of the record before me. I had not had time to study the record.

Our forefathers in their wisdom provided to Members of the Senate exactly the protection I exercised in order that time might be afforded to judge the actions of their committees. These committees do not act with finality, and, in my judgment, we should not let them act in such great haste.

In my judgment, the President of the United States himself rebutted any argument in favor of quick action on the Cabinet appointments, when he did not see fit to send to the Senate the nomination of the Secretary of Defense along with the other nominees for the Cabinet. If there were any emergency, I believe it would be fair for us to assume that the position of Secretary of Defense would be one of the first positions to receive early action by the Senate. Of course if action on that Cabinet position could wait until after the parade and until later in the week, I submit that action on the other Cabinet positions also could wait until we had time to study them.

In my judgment, the underlying principle involved in the question of confirming the nomination for Secretary of Defense is not at all a question of law but is a question of public policy which would not be changed one iota by the existence or non-existence of present statute on the law books. The question is one of public policy which goes to the fact that as of approximately July 1, 1952, General Motors Corporation had, in round numbers, $2.9 billion worth of defense contracts with the Defense Establishment.

General Motors Corporation has done a magnificent job in connection with those defense contracts. It has made a great deal of money, too. As of December 1,

Wayne L. Morse, Independent, is US Senator from Oregon.

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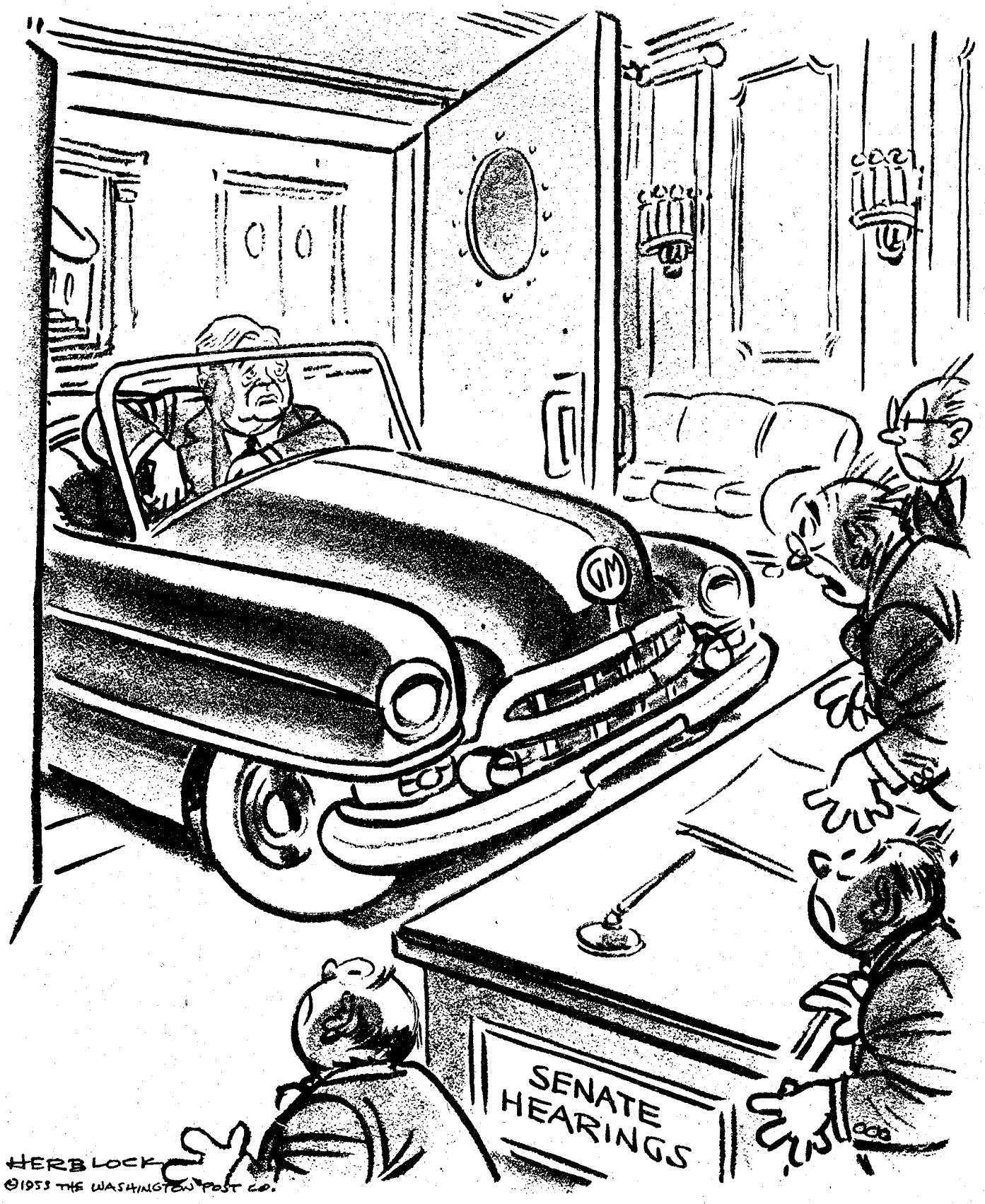

It's not customary, Mr. Wilson

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General Motors Corporation had in the neighborhood of $5 billion of defense contracts with the Defense Establishment.

There is a basic principle in the administration of American justice, namely, that when we come to qualify jurors for service on a jury a lawyer does not have to waste a precious preemptory challenge in eliminating from the panel a prospective juror who has the slightest financial interest in the outcome of the case. The court does that for him; the court removes such a prospective juror for cause. That is done because we, as a free people, have always taken judicial notice that when one sits in judgment on a matter it is asking a little too much, or at least it is testing human frailties to a point that is not safe in the interest of good government, to have representing justice and representing government persons who might benefit financially from the outcome of the case. We also recognize that there are a great many persons who, having such an interest, would lean over backward against their own interest, which would not be fair to them. It does not follow that if there is placed on a jury an American who has some interest in the outcome of the case his action will be motivated in the slightest degree to benefit himself. To the contrary, there are a great many of our fellow citizens who, if we left them on a jury under those circumstances, would lean over backward and would do themselves an injury by proceeding to take a position in which they would give to the litigant a benefit in the case to which, on the merits, he would not be entitled. Some people serving as jurors would do so in order that no one could say they were motivated in any way by any selfish interest of their own. So, in the administration of this rule of justice it is equally important that we protect the prospective juror against himself, as it is that we protect the litigant against a juror who might not lean over backward to do justice to the litigant.

In the case of the Wilson nomination, the only criterion which disturbs me is, not the criterion of his loyalty to our country, not the criterion of his character, not the criterion of his devotion to the policies of the President, but, rather, the criterion of whether as a matter of public policy it is wise and sound, in the abstract—without any reference to the specifics of this case—to confirm the nomination, as Secretary of Defense, of one who has been president of a company which has such a tremendous financial interest in the administration of the defense contracts of the Department of Defense.

I have no desire to impute any improper motive to Charles Wilson. We ought to hold ourselves to the discussion of the public-policy principle involved. It makes no difference to me what changes may be made in the existing law or what techniques of form one might advocate adopting, the controlling fact, so far as the public-policy question is concerned, is that this individual has been president of a corporation that has tremendous interests in defense contracts. Therefore, I think someone else ought to have been appointed Secretary of Defense, no matter what formal changes or changes in form may be made in the law. Why? Because, colloquially speaking, under the circumstances, he is "behind the eight ball" before he starts. He is bound to be suspect, no matter what he does within the Department of Defense, in any matter that can be directly or indirectly related to General Motors.

To say that he will agree to disqualify himself when it comes to passing upon any matter affecting General Motors will not satisfy millions of our people. He is still Secretary of Defense and his subordinates will be passing on General Motors interests in defense contracts. The facts of this particular case are such that millions of Americans, in my judgment, are going to say, "I care not what kind of modification may be made to the existing law, it still would have been better public policy not to nominate and confirm a man whose company has that particular interest in defense contracts."

The question of public policy in regard to the financial interest of General Motors in defense contracts is much more important than another common criticism of this particular proposed nomination. I refer to the fact that General Motors, along with du Pont, is presently at least involved in one of the major antitrust suits filed by our government. That does bother me, also as far as Wilson's nomination is concerned, although I do not think it is of such serious importance as the financial interest objection. However, it is serious. Here again, I think it a mistake to nominate for a Cabinet position one who has been president of a company that is involved in a pending antitrust suit. I would assume—and I think it a fair assumption—that if that suit were pressed to prosecution and trial, somewhere along the line the past president of General Motors would be called as a witness; in which event I can hear people say—and I do not believe it wise to permit such a situation to develop—that when a Cabinet member is one of the witnesses in a major antitrust suit, his fellow Cabinet member charged with the responsibility of administering the law, would at least be in a somewhat embarrassing position. At least many people feel that they would be embarrassed under the circumstances, even though the Attorney General might not be.

It is unpleasant to discuss these matters, and I do not do it happily. However, in conformity with what I consider to be my responsibility as a Senator of the United States, so long as I sit there, I shall consider that I owe it to the people of my state at least to raise these questions, and to continue to discuss the questions involved in this and other issues on the basis of the principles.

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BEHIND THE COMMITTEE DOORS:

Although Congressional objection to the nomination of Charles E. Wilson as Secretary of Defense alone rated headlines in the nation's press, some Senators harbor serious reservations concerning the qualifications of the other men on Eisenhower's slate for his Cabinet. Senatorial questioning of John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, Douglas McKay, Secretary of Interior, and Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture, was particularly close.

Mr. Dulles' cavalier treatment of historical fact, Mr. McKay's un-enlightened pronouncements on the development of power in the Pacific Northwest, and on resource development and conservation in general, and Mr. Benson's ambiguous statements concerning the farm price-support program all caused many a Senator to worry and to doubt. In order that its readers may be alerted to these little-publicized hesitations, the NR reproduces below pertinent examples of the questions put to these men along with their answers.

JOHN FOSTER DULLES

SENATOR GILLETTE: I quote from the Republican foreign-policy platform which says:

> The present Administration, in seven years, has squandered the unprecedented power and prestige which were ours at the close of World War II.
>
> We charge that the leaders of the Administration in power lost the peace so dearly earned by World War II. . . .
>
> With foresight, the Korean War would never have happened. . . .
>
> Those in control of the party in power have, in reality, no foreign policy. They swing erratically from timid appeasement to reckless bluster. . . .

. . . I want to quote [Mr. Dulles] from your excellent speech that you made on July 12, 1949:

> . . . But I say that the program along which we have been moving has begun to show tentative results.
>
> Why did that happen? Why has that transformation taken place? It has taken place because Soviet Communist tactics cannot prevail against such curative and creative programs as we have been evolving over the past 2 years.

In those excerpts that I have read, you took credit, and I think properly, for help and assistance that was given in the formulation of these policies, and in the face of that, can you stand here before us and say that you not only did not repudiate it, but that you endorsed the charges of the Republican platform that the party in power had no foreign policy, and swung "erratically from timid appeasement to reckless bluster," and "in seven years has squandered the unprecedented power and prestige which were ours"?

I wish that, for the sake of the public, you would try to reconcile those positions as they have been outlined in the above-named quotations.

MR. DULLES: That is a posture we get into every four years when we have a national election.

In my opinion it is quite right; but, when that time is past, then I believe we should try to work together on a bipartisan basis . . . I believe that in the intervening time we should try to work together. . . .

SENATOR GILLETTE: . . . I cannot quite conclude with you that when statements, extravagant or distorted or untrue, are made in the heat of a campaign, have served their purpose they can then be forgotten for another four years, at which time they may be distorted again; for example, if you or someone else makes a statement that, with foresight, the Korean War should never have happened. I will quote now from an article in *Life* magazine of May, 1952:

> President Truman's decision that the United States should go to the defense of the Korean Republic was courageous, righteous and in the national interest.
>
> When statements of that kind are made, I am not willing to concede that even in the exigencies of a campaign, as the presentation of a campaign viewpoint, there is any justice or privilege or right or public interest in the distorting of the picture that is presented there.

MR. DULLES: I admit in the campaign words are used that are somewhat more extravagant than those used in a period of judicial contemplation. . . .

* * * * *

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Mr. Dulles, I would just like to ask you a few questions with reference to, first of all, your point of view pertaining to our reciprocal trade program. . . .

MR. DULLES: . . . I believe that the United States as a great creditor nation, and as a great productive power ought to, in its own interests, try to encourage the volume of world trade on a mutually advantageous basis. . . .

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Now as Members of the Senate, I believe in September of 1949 we debated and finally voted upon the extension of the reciprocal-trade-agreements program. I recall . . . an amendment was offered by the Senator from Colorado, Mr. Millikin. That amendment provided that instead of a three-year extension, there would be a two-year extension.

I believe it also embodied the so-called peril-point provisions. . . . On that amendment, if my memory serves me correctly, I believe you paired in favor of it.

MR. DULLES: That is my recollection.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Is that still your feeling in view of your new responsibilities?

MR. DULLES: . . . I don't remember in fact all of the details of Senator Millikin's bill, but insofar as I do recall it, I would say that if I had to vote today again on that bill or what I think was in the alternative, I would be inclined to vote as I did before. . . .

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I hesitate to go back into this matter of platform, Mr. Dulles, and I shall not bear on it long. . . . In that platform it was stated, and I quote from the platform: "They [referring to the Administration] abandoned friendly nations such as Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia." . . .

Isn't it true, Mr. Dulles, that with respect to the Baltic states in particular, their sad plight came about as the result of a so-called non-aggression pact between the Soviet Union and Germany in 1940?

MR. DULLES: The actual absorption of those three Baltic countries did take place as I remember in 1940, as the result of one of the secret protocols between Hitler and Stalin. . . .

SENATOR HUMPHREY: My point, Mr. Dulles, is that the document from which I was reading to which you have referred would place in context what happened to Czechoslovakia, to Poland and to the Baltic states as if it all occurred at one fell swoop. The historical facts are, however, that the non-aggression pact between Hitler and Stalin in 1940 resulted in the acquisition of the Baltic states, the Polish situation followed World War II and the coup d'etat of Czechoslovakia was in 1948.

. . . I merely ask these questions because I am of the opinion that there is no greater tragedy befalling the American people than that of distorting historical fact, particularly when it relates to our foreign policy. . . .

I press them only that we may learn

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The Senate Questions Ike's Cabinet

from such tragic lessons that it should not become a national pastime, in dealing with matters of life and death in our foreign policy, to not be as accurate as one ought to be as a responsible citizen in these matters. I imagine we are all somewhat guilty, and we have a responsibility to be less so. . . .

MR. DULLES: There is no statement made in that platform which I think is inaccurate or which was not required to be said. Now the language in which it was said took on the tones of a normal Presidential campaign.

It is not all the language which I myself would have picked or which I want to use today, but so far as the facts are concerned, there is nothing there, in my opinion, which is not justifiable.

* * * * *

SENATOR MANSFIELD: Could you give the committee your ideas about the Point Four program?

MR. DULLES: I think that the Point Four program in conception is one of the best of our programs in the economic as distinct from the purely political field. I have the impression that in operation the Point Four program has tended to move toward hand-outs and grants-in-aid which were not within the spirit of the original Point Four program.

Today it has become difficult for private enterprise to do it as it did it originally, because of the political risks that are involved, political hazards, and I think it is entirely appropriate that government should give its support and added impetus to doing that. I still believe that it can be done very largely by private enterprise.

But I do believe that, provided we can keep control of the operation, prevent it from becoming a hand-out, and really concentrate it upon technical developments which will give improvement in the agricultural, medical and industrial fields, there is a very great future for the concept of Point Four.

* * * * *

EZRA TAFT BENSON

SENATOR YOUNG: . . . I would like to know if you subscribe to the policies as outlined by General Eisenhower in his campaign speeches.

In his Kasson, Minn., speech on Sept. 6, 1952, General Eisenhower had this to say:

> And here and now, and without any "if's" or "but's," I say to you that I stand behind—and the Republican Party stands behind—the price-support laws now on the books. This includes the amendment to the basic Farm Act, passed by votes of both parties in Congress, to continue through 1954 the price supports on basic commodities at 90 percent of parity.

Later on, at Brookings, S. Dak., on Oct. 4, he had this to say:

> I have . . . tried to outline . . . my own personal convictions about agriculture. . . . The Republican Party is pledged to the sustaining of the 90-percent-parity price support and it is pledged even more than that to helping the farmer obtain his full parity, 100-percent parity, with the guaranty in the price supports of 90.

Do you agree with his policy?

MR. BENSON: Yes. I think the General and I are in general agreement, Senator, on this matter. . . .

SENATOR YOUNG: I would like to read a paragraph or two from a letter I received from a feed dealer in Minneapolis, with an office in the Minneapolis Flour Exchange. It says:

> Everyone in the Middlewest seems to feel that Mr. Ezra Benson, the new Secretary of Agriculture, is opposed to 90 percent of parity government guaranty and will permit farm commodity prices to slide off from day to day.
>
> As a matter of fact, that is just exactly what has been happening to wheat, corn, oats, soybean meal and butter since the 1st of November. The silence of the new Secretary of Agriculture has encouraged professional traders to sell the market on grains down from day to day, and will continue to do so to the distress of the farmer if the Secretary of Agriculture or even the newly elected President keeps silent about the government's attitude with regard to farm commodities.

This letter is very typical of many others.

MR. BENSON: Yes. It is on the books and I assume we are committed for it, Senator. I have not felt that I should make any public pronouncements. I am not Secretary yet. I hope to have something to say when and if I am sustained as Secretary.

I realize that there has been some decline in the markets of many of our farm products. It is not because of any lack of interest that I have not said anything on the subject. I am in sympathy for the continuation of our present legislation for the duration of the program.

SENATOR YOUNG: Senator Russell and I on Friday of this week—and I think other Senators may wish to join us—have a bill which is to be introduced. This bill would extend 90-percent support for basics for three additional years.

Would you care to comment on this?

MR. BENSON: I would prefer not to, Senator.

SENATOR YOUNG: I think, Mr. Benson, it is customary for a prospective Cabinet member to answer questions such as that.

MR. BENSON: I would like time to get better acquainted with the problem involved, with the legislation now on the books, before making any commitments for the future. I think it would be unwise for me to make any commitment beyond the extent of the present legislation at least at this moment.

SENATOR YOUNG: You would agree, though, if General Eisenhower himself said that the party is for sustaining 90-percent supports, and in the absence of any speeches supporting the flexible idea of supports, that his position would be for 90-percent support?

MR. BENSON: I understand he is committed for 90-percent support for the next two years at least.

SENATOR YOUNG: There is another very important part of the Kasson, Minn., speech I would like to read to you:

> As provided in the Republican platform, the non-perishable crops so important to the diversified farmer—crops such as oats, barley, rye and soybeans—should be given the same protection as available to the maior cash crops

In other words, he advocated extension of the same supports now enjoyed by basic farm commodities to oats, barley, rye and soybeans.

MR. BENSON: That involves some very serious problems I am not prepared to say anything further on that. . . .

* * * * *

SENATOR YOUNG: As you know, there is always great concern with farmers as to what their future price outlook will be. This is directly affected by the price-support program, which I think is most necessary. General Eisenhower made some plain statements as to what his position is going to be. That was followed by statements of other Republicans like myself, all the way from California to North Dakota.

Some of us may be washed out politically if the Administration follows a different policy than was definitely promised in speeches.

I think that is all, Mr. Benson. I wish that I could get a more clear-cut statement as to your position on these matters. It might well affect my vote in the Senate.

MR. BENSON: I am in full support with the present legislation, Senator, and I am

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hopeful that we will be able to study the present program very carefully, if possible to improve upon them, and certainly there should be some protection for the producers not only of the basic commodities, so-called, but other commodities as well. I am in full sympathy.

We want to get the very best policy we can, and I do not think government supports are a substitute for a fair price in the market place. The whole thing is involved in the problem. I would like time to study the question and become more familiar with it before I commit myself.

SENATOR YOUNG: Of course, the uncertainty of your public statements, Mr. Benson, is having an adverse effect on farm prices now. I do not know of anything that would bolster farm prices now more than a clear-cut statement from you with respect to these price-support programs.

Will there be a lowering of price-support programs or will they be maintained at the present levels?

MR. BENSON: Do you mean immediately when I take office? No.

* * * * *

DOUGLAS MCKAY

SENATOR MURRAY: . . . I understand you are in favor of statehood for Hawaii.

GOVERNOR MCKAY: Yes, sir.

SENATOR MURRAY: How do you feel about statehood for Alaska?

GOVERNOR MCKAY: I think the same thing should apply to Alaska. Of course, it is a matter for the Congress to decide as to the proper bill.

* * * * *

SENATOR MURRAY: . . . Now, with reference to public power, are you in favor of the programs that have been carried on heretofore under the Bonneville Authority? Are you in favor of all of the programs of the Bonneville Authority?

GOVERNOR MCKAY: No, sir. I haven't been in sympathy with the program they have promoted for the Columbia Valley Authority. . . .

SENATOR MURRAY: We have made great progress in Montana. We have built transmission lines to carry the power into the interior . . . and the farmers of our state have been tremendously benefited by it, and we hope that that system will be continued.

GOVERNOR MCKAY: Well, Senator, I believe likewise that private enterprise has a right to pursue their business. . . . I don't think that either private or public power should be given any advantage over the other. They ought to be able to work side by side. . . . They should be given equal opportunity. . . .

* * * * *

SENATOR ANDERSON: What do you think about tidelands?

GOVERNOR MCKAY: I am on the side of Texas and Louisiana. . . .

SENATOR BUTLER (Chairman): I would like to say here that when the tidelands question is settled—and I hope it will be rather definitely before too far in this session—there are plans for the introduction of a bill that will make the same theory applicable to public lands now held by the federal government within the state, and Nevada can really be a state of the Union instead of a part state and part territory. The same is applicable to other areas. . . .

SENATOR MURRAY: We would like to have the views of Governor McKay on that very subject. . . . It has been discussed in the press, and I understand the National Manufacturers Association and the Chamber of Commerce have carried on quite a widespread publicity campaign advocating that the public lands be turned over to the states or to the people.

SENATOR LONG: Speaking to the general issue of states' rights. . . . Are you one of those who feels that generally speaking people of the community or people of the state are . . . qualified to determine their own destiny and what is good for them . . . ?

GOVERNOR MCKAY: I agree with that philosophy. . . . People at the local level are better able to decide what is better for them than somebody in Washington.

* * * * *

SENATOR CLEMENTS: . . . Did I understand you to say that you approved of the policies of Rural Electrification of the government up to this time?

GOVERNOR MCKAY: I couldn't answer that, Senator, because I am not too familiar with it. . . . I will say this. I believe that private enterprise can work with the production and distribution of power, and I think they should be allowed to.

I don't think they should be throttled, and there has been a tendency in the past to give breaks to all the public deals. . . .

* * * * *

SENATOR JACKSON: . . . You are familiar with the priority clause in sale and distribution of power from federally owned projects, power projects? . . . I can't remember the exact date, but I do know this: That it was the recommendation of Teddy Roosevelt originally, and was enacted into law by Congress. Now do you believe that the existing law should be changed?

GOVERNOR MCKAY: I don't think that is any of my business as a part of the executive branch of the government.

SENATOR JACKSON: You mean in this Congress all recommended legislation will come from Congress?

GOVERNOR MCKAY: The Department of Interior doesn't make laws. They sometimes interpret the laws.

SENATOR JACKSON: No, the Department of the Interior doesn't interpret the laws. The courts interpret the laws. . . .

GOVERNOR MCKAY: If you want my opinion, I think the situation has been abused. I don't know why customers of one system should be penalized over customers of another system. Now, at the present time the customers of public ownership, because the steam-generated electricity is all owned by private ownership that has been fed into the Northwest power pool to help the public-ownership customers, and yet who pays for it? The customers of private power, so I think the thing has been abused.

SENATOR JACKSON: Let me ask you this: The private-power companies have fared pretty well under the program, have they not? The sale of power from federally owned projects?

GOVERNOR MCKAY: Yes, sir. . . .

SENATOR JACKSON: . . . You say there has been abuse in the sale of power to public bodies in the Northwest. My recollection is that the Portland General Electric is getting about two-thirds of the power that is selling from Bonneville.

GOVERNOR MCKAY: I imagine that is about right.

SENATOR JACKSON: So they haven't fared poorly.

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SENATOR JACKSON: . . . I gather you feel that the sale of power from federal dams ought to be on an equal basis with private utilities and public bodies?

GOVERNOR MCKAY: Not necessarily equal, but they ought to have equal treatment. I grant that the publicly owned projects probably have a priority over publicly produced power. . . .

* * * * *

SENATOR JACKSON: . . . Now on public lands there was some mentioned here this morning about divesting the federal government of ownership in certain parts of the public domain. Have you any views on that in general at this time?

GOVERNOR MCKAY: No; I think not. . . . I expressed my views on the tidelands.

SENATOR JACKSON: Of course, the tidelands issue was settled once by the Supreme Court; I mean three times. It was held to be federal property.

GOVERNOR MCKAY: Congress differs.

SENATOR JACKSON: Through Congress the federal government can divest itself of the ownership of federal lands. Do you feel that the domain, the public domain, the grazing lands, or the timberlands, and so on, ought to be turned over to the states?

GOVERNOR MCKAY: Not necessarily.

SENATOR JACKSON: You haven't any opinion?

GOVERNOR MCKAY: No; I have no opinion.

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CAN WE AVOID WAR WITH RUSSIA?

by George F. Kennan

THE COUNTRY stands just now at the end of one epoch and the beginning of another in its foreign relations. The coming period is going to place upon us demands of a crucial nature, and precisely in the formulation of policy toward those men who are the leaders of both the Soviet Union and the world Communist movement. . . .

What is really the source of the terrible differences that have divided us and continue to divide us from these men? . . . I cannot help but conclude that it has lain not with those human foibles we Americans undoubtedly have . . . but in something quite special on the other side which distinguishes the Soviet regime from any other modern political system I have known.

I am speaking here of the ideological preconceptions by which the Soviet leaders were originally motivated, and of the way in which the exercise of absolute power in Russia has tended to build itself around these preconceptions and to become dependent on them.

II. The Sources of Soviet Hostility

When the Russian Communists seized power in St. Petersburg in the fall of 1917 they were already animated by a preconceived hostility to our form of government, our social order and our deepest beliefs. And they were not content to reject these things for themselves; they insisted that it was part of their duty in life to desire, and to abet, the destruction of these things in our country.

. . . Having first decided to regard us as a society founded on evil and doomed principles, it was only a step, of course, to regarding us, and representing us to the Soviet peoples, as a full-fledged enemy. I suspect that this had its own peculiar domestic uses. When one is unable to govern a society any way but dictatorially, with the suppression of all normal human liberties and through the agency of a vast apparatus of oppression, it is always convenient to justify and rationalize these conditions by pointing to a foreign danger. And if this danger does not really exist, then it is natural to create a bogey-man to represent it. In this way a set of doctrinaire preconceptions about the outside world, ourselves included, became anchored in the internal relationships of power in the Soviet Union and took its place among the very foundation stones of that political system.

Once this had happened, it made little difference what our government might do, from the standpoint of the manner in which its actions would be received and interpreted at the other end. Some people will tell you that it was the American intervention in Russia in 1918 and 1919, or other acts of American policy in that early period, which created Soviet hostility to ourselves. That is not correct. I am not defending all the things we did at that time. Some may have been wise, others not. But I can tell you that whatever we might have done—and this has been the case ever since—it would have been misinterpreted by these men to our own disadvantage, and exploited in order to substantiate the thesis that the outside world was hostile and menacing and not to be trusted.

It was this quest for absolute power, then, and the need for preconceptions by which to rationalize it, that have stood at the heart of our difficulties. It is against this background that the Soviet leaders have consistently misrepresented and vilified our society all these years before the eyes of the Soviet peoples and peoples elsewhere in the world. It is against this background that they have continued, more than 35 years, to give administrative guidance and comfort and encouragement to groups in our country desirous of subverting the very purposes to which our national life has been dedicated. It is against this background that one American representative after another who has gone to Moscow with decent and conciliatory purpose has been treated in a manner calculated to make him feel that he is regarded a sinister figure and presumed capable of the most criminal undertakings. My own recent experience was unusual in form, but not in content.

I have been the witness of effort after effort on the part of individual Americans and other foreigners, private individuals as well as government officials, to break down this morbid misanthropy, to demonstrate to the Soviet leaders that we had no evil designs, to persuade them that we wanted nothing else but to live in peace and amity with them. Invariably these efforts were unsuccessful. They were received with sneers and misrepresentation, or were cynically exploited. If any one thing is clear about the Soviet Union, it is that this attitude on the part of its leaders is a subjective one, not a reaction to outside reality. It rests on *their* necessities, not ours. It is impervious to any rational or generous appeal. With the course of time, I am confident, it will wear away and yield to something more healthy, because Providence has its way of punishing those who persist long and willfully in ignoring great realities.

George F. Kennan, career foreign officer and most recent Ambassador to Russia, delivered this address before the Pennsylvania Bar Association at Scranton, Pa., on January 16, 1953.

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Perhaps by our actions—never by our words—we will be able to hasten its disappearance. But for all these years we have had to accept it and to deal with it as an existing fact. And we still do today.

III. The Dangers of War and Provocation

In that lies our problem. It is a problem wholly new to our experience. What do you do with people like this, who are set against you by everything they stand for and everything they have committed themselves to? . . .

The tendency of people in this country has often been to seek simple, one-time answers to this tremendous question.

There have been people, for example, who—incensed and irritated by this situation—have professed to see in it valid cause for war, and have considered a resort to arms the most suitable means of dealing with it. It is a source of deep personal comfort to me that these people have remained a small and ineffectual minority within the body of our society, and that our government has consistently rejected this possibility as a deliberate course of American policy. . . . War, as our people have correctly recognized, is far more than a means to an end; modern war is a catastrophe in its own right, for all concerned. It affects peoples as terribly as it affects rulers; sometimes more so. And military victory alone is not apt to be as decisive as many people think. The great and primary task of political action is not to destroy men but to influence their attitudes and their behavior. Military victory cannot, therefore, be looked to as a substitute for wise and patient political action, directed toward the minds of men. . . .

Another concept people have entertained as to how to deal with Soviet power is to ignore it and to have as little as possible to do with it. This was, in effect, the policy followed for the first 17 years after the Russian revolution.

On principle, I am a partisan of this approach wherever it is practically feasible. It combines dignity with moderation. It spares us having to bring injury to innocent bystanders. Of all the attitudes we could take, it is the least susceptible to misrepresentation and unscrupulous exploitation. But we must face the fact that the outcome of World War II left us seriously involved with the Soviet Government in a number of questions vital to the future intactness of our civilization. Neither party can now extract itself from the unhappy intimacy this involves. Just as the Soviet Union and the United States are both today too great to hope to destroy each other except at exorbitant mutual cost so they are also too great to ignore each other with impunity. The interests of world peace require that they communicate with each other—at least in a certain limited number of questions. And neither can be insensible to the indirect effects of what the other does.

Still other people have hoped from time to time to break down the hostility of the men in the Kremlin by showing them kindness and confidence. This thought, too, has dominated our policy for considerable periods. It is probably well that it has been tried; because its rejection should rest, as it does today, only on the evidence of a fair and patient trial, not on the say-so of a few experts who were skeptical about it from the beginning. But the fact is that, as I have already stated, it has been tried, and has failed signally. We can have no illusions about it today.

Finally, there are those who point to what they believe to be the unhappiness of the various peoples under Soviet rule, and advocate a policy which, placing our hopes on the possibility of internal disintegration of Soviet power, would make it the purpose of governmental action to promote such disintegration.

It is right that individual Americans should stand for their beliefs and do what they can to make them understood and respected elsewhere. I do not underrate the competitive power of freedom in the struggle of political ideas. I hope it will always be on our side. I think time and circumstances will tend to prove its strength. I think the arts of totalitarian despotism will prove in the end to be self-destructive.

But I would be extremely careful of doing anything at the governmental level that purports to affect directly the governmental system in another country, no matter what the provocation may seem. It is not consistent with our international obligations. It is not consistent with a common membership with other countries in the United Nations. It is not consistent with the maintenance of formal diplomatic relations with another country. It is replete with possibilities for misunderstanding and bitterness. To the extent it might be successful, it would involve us in heavy responsibilities. Finally the prospects for success would be very small indeed; since the problem of civil obedience is not a great problem to the modern police dictatorship.

Let us by all means take pride in our institutions and our political ideas. Let us do all we can to commend them by their successful application in our own country. Let us certainly not make ourselves the allies and guarantors of despotism anywhere. But beyond that, let us not commit ourselves. It was a wise American statesman, John Quincy Adams, who once said:

> . . . [America] goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only

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of her own. She will recommend the general cause by the countenance of her voice, and the benignant sympathy of her example. She well knows that by once enlisting under other banners than her own, were they even the banners of foreign independence, she would involve herself beyond the power of extrication in all the wars on interest and intrigue, of individual avarice, envy and ambition, which assume the colors and usurp the standards of freedom. The fundamental maxims of her policy would insensibly change from liberty to force.

IV. Our Principles in Dealing with Russia

. . . I find myself obliged to reject, one after another, each of these obvious and simple approaches, with which people have tended to react to this Soviet challenge. The difficulty of the problem . . . lies precisely in the fact that it *is* so complex and so diffuse in its implications, and is not susceptible to treatment by any single and simple device. Our responses to it have to be as variegated as the forms it takes and the phases of our life that it affects.

These responses have to be related, in each case, to the circumstances and demands of the moment. In this way they constitute, of course, the chain of decisions which go to make up what we call policy. . . . But . . . there are certain general principles by which it is wise to abide in arriving at all these decisions. . . .

The first is simply this: in your dealings with international Communism, above all, be strong. But when I say "be strong," I mean be strong on principle, not just as a reaction to passing phenomena on the international scene. Be strong not just because there is a war on at this moment in Korea, or because you may have convinced yourself that a peak of military danger is going to occur at some particular time in the future. Be strong in order that your word may be respected, in order that your friends may feel confidence in you, in order that there may be no needless and tragic misunderstandings. Be strong with the intention of remaining strong for a good, long time—for, say, at least one or two decades—regardless of the intervening fluctuations on the international scene.

Second, be cool-headed and deliberate. Our Soviet adversaries are men of deep experience, great consistency of purpose, and great flexibility of tactics. The traditions of their movement forbid them to fail to take advantage of any openings for promoting the interests of that movement. They are inhibited from indulging generally in those amenities of social intercourse and personal contact which have usually marked the process of diplomacy and played—I think—a most useful role as guardians against needless misunderstanding and cushions for absorbing the shock of conflicts of interest. Any international relationship that lacks these cushions is unavoidably precarious and delicate. At the same time, I need not point out to you that a tremendous amount depends, for ourselves and for people all over the world, on the handling and course of Soviet-American relations. For all these reasons I would say that this is a time for the greatest circumspection and coolness of judgment in this area. There is no field of governmental activity in which such things as sensationalism, emotionalism, the striking of heroic attitudes, and demagoguery of all sorts are less in place. If the people of this country wish their relations with the government of the Soviet Union to proceed safely and successfully, avoiding the extremes of catastrophe or foolish appeasement, they will see to it that these matters are committed to the care of mature and responsible people and will permit those people to have the indispensable advantages of public confidence and privacy of decision. This area is no place for impulsiveness, no place for self-seeking, no place for irresponsible experiments, and no place for the spot-light of sensationalism.

Third, while cultivating strength, remain prepared at all times to negotiate where negotiation is required. . . . . I do not believe in the possibility of any sudden and global solutions by negotiation. The great ethical and philosophical differences which separate us from the Soviets are not international situations in which useful ends can be served by practical arrangement to which both sides agree, even though the readiness to agree may be for differing and conflicting aims. We must see to it that in each of these cases we show ourselves prepared to adjust differences, to the extent this can be done without compromising basic issues. For this reason it is important that we should have, with respect to each of these situations, a clear and realistic position, and should see to it that this position is known to, and understood by, the world public. We have all learned that negotiation from weakness is worse than futile; but many of us have still to learn that strength is not a substitute for negotiation, and that it is idle to press your adversary against a closed door. After all, what we want to accomplish in the first instance with our Soviet adversary, as I see it, is to bring him to a more reasonable and responsible attitude toward his world obligations and to prove to him that it would be the part of prudence on his part to moderate his behavior on the international plane. For this, channels must be left open into which he can move, as and when a clearer appreciation of realities comes upon him. This is all the more necessary from the standpoint of our relations with our allies and other associates among the peace-loving nations. It is essential, if we are to retain their confidence and support, that they be convinced that our poli-

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cies are directed toward the gradual improvement of world conditions, not toward the holocaust of another war.

This brings me to the fourth principle: guard your unity, in every respect. The importance of this cannot be over-rated. Our Communist adversaries know that the latent aggregate strength of the free world outclasses at this juncture, and will long continue to exceed, the strength of the world they command. The central emphasis of their policy therefore lies not in the prospect of a head-on confrontation but in the hope of weakening and dissipating the strength of the free world through promoting disunity within its ranks. I reiterate: the basis of their attack on us is the development and exploitation of divisions among us. Correspondingly, the first element of our defense should logically be the cultivation of unity within our own ranks.

This duty arises on two planes. The first of these is the international. There is no task of American foreign policy more important than the cultivation of sound relationships with our principle associates in the non-Communist world. Sound relationships, as I see them, are ones founded not on charity nor on propaganda nor on sentimentality nor on anything that smacks of self-righteousness or patronizing. They are relationships founded on mutual respect and confidence, and on an enlightened understanding of the area in which interests of two countries are genuinely identical. Such relationships *can* be achieved. But I am afraid that in many cases today it would require a readiness on our part to make significant modifications in national behavior, and not just in that part of national behavior which we Americans traditionally think of as foreign policy. It seems to me, for example, that many of the vestiges of protectionism still present in our national life are inconsistent with the sort of international relationships we require at this juncture, and ill become a nation of our economic strength and position of world responsibility.

The second plane on which unity must be cultivated is the domestic one. But surely, if we are to have the right kind of domestic unity, then there must be a marked change in the tone and temper of public life over what it has been in the past period, and particularly in the treatment of these questions of civic loyalty that are so closely bound up with the Communist problem.

V. The Mishandling of Domestic Subversion

I ask you to bear in mind that I am looking at this from the standpoint of one who has long seen these matters from the Moscow end. As much as 20 years ago some of us who were concerned with Soviet affairs at posts abroad began pointing to the evidences of Communist exploitation of our civic liberties, and urging vigorous action to keep it under control. I think it fair to say that we were the pioneers in the exploration of this problem. For our pains we had the experience of being potted at from the left for many years, and accused of being a "clique of anti-Soviet reactionaries in the State Department." . . .

Today I must say, again looking at it from the standpoint of one who has been on the Moscow firing line, that my greatest worry has been just the opposite, namely: that through exaggerating the dimensions of this danger, and failing to put it into proper perspective with the other problems before us, we may be creating weaknesses in our society greater than anything Communist penetration itself ever was likely to achieve.

Please do not misunderstand me. At various times there has undoubtedly been some Communist penetration into our public life, both within and without government. That is a serious and dangerous thing. My purpose is not to belittle this problem, but rather to urge that we give it its due weight, neither more nor less, and that we guard against the damage that can be done to our own society if it is handled rashly or unwisely.

There has been much discussion about Communist penetration in our government. But people seldom attempt to appraise the actual damage done thereby to our public policy. I have been fairly close to the policy-making processes in Washington for the past six years. With many of the decisions I have been personally in accord; with others, not. But I cannot recall a single major decision of foreign policy during that period which Communist influence could have had any appreciable part in determining. If, therefore, I were to be asked what part Communist penetration had played in creating our difficulties and perplexities of today in the field of foreign affairs, I would have to say that—as far as these past years are concerned—that part has been negligible, and I am sure it is negligible today.

On the other hand, I *have* seen serious damage done in these recent years to public confidence and to governmental morale by the mishandling of our own measures to counter precisely this problem of Communist penetration. Such damage has been done by the public discussion of things that should have been handled quietly and privately. It has been done by the inability of many people to distinguish between questions of loyalty and questions of opinion. It has been done by the workings of hastily devised and not fully appropriate procedures for testing and establishing the reliability of public servants. Finally, such damage has been done by the failure of many people to realize that what is im-

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portant from the standpoint of personal loyalty is not the dusty record of actions committed 10 to 20 years ago and now proven by hindsight to have been errors, but the picture of the living human being as he stands before us today, and the extent to which he now possesses wisdom and maturity and stability and all those other positive qualities which too often are acquired only through the very process of painful error.

The result to date of all these deficiencies in the treatment of the subject of civic loyalty has been the creation of a situation which worries me precisely because it seems to me to play very dangerously into the hands of those men who have constituted themselves our adversaries in the international sphere. As things stand today, I can see no reason why malicious people should have any particular difficulty in rendering unavailable for service to this country almost any person whom they might select for this treatment. All that is necessary is to release a spate of rumors and gossip and demands for investigation. There are always tongues willing and eager to take up this cry and carry it further; something of it is bound to stick in the public mind; and in the end, if the public servant in question is not discouraged and demoralized, a portion of the public will at any rate have lost confidence in him, and his usefulness to the country will have been thereby reduced. I am thinking here not only, or even primarily, of the man's own loss, which may be grievous. I am thinking of the country's loss, which is more grievous still. Are we so rich in talented public servants that we can afford to leave the ones we have vulnerable to this sort of danger?

. . . **I am sure that** Communist Party leaders in Moscow cannot but rejoice at the spectacle, to which they have recently been treated, of bitter disunity and mutual suspicion in our councils over these painful and delicate questions of loyalty. They know well what psychological dangers lie in over-suspiciousness. They know that for the mass as for the individual the preoccupation with possible conspiracy can easily become an escape from a realistic facing up to responsibility, and the beginning of irrational behavior. They know that a community where there is—let us say—one undiscovered traitor but where the remaining members are united by bonds of mutual confidence and are going cheerfully and serenely about their business is usually far stronger than a society in which the lone traitor has been found but at the cost of a pervading sense of fear and insecurity throughout the community as a whole. Themselves the cynical manipulators of the forces of fear and suspicion, the Communist leaders rejoice when they think they see us becoming the victims of these very forces.

My plea, therefore, is that we move urgently to eliminate this area of vulnerability in our own armor. The way to do this, as it seems to me, is to devise procedures for the handling of these matters which will give society the necessary protection and yet will be proof against malicious misuse and will guard and preserve that most priceless of our governmental possessions: the morale and enthusiasm of the forgotten man—the loyal civil servant.

VI. The Necessity of Patience

The last of the principles I would recommend for observance in approaching these problems of international Communism is this: do not be impatient, and do not insist on trying to look too far ahead. Great damage can be done in the field of foreign policy, and precisely in this area of relations with the Soviet Union, by the people who want to achieve swift and mechanical results, and want to know right now what will be the guaranteed outcome of any course of governmental action. The great problems of foreign affairs are part of the problem of nature. Like many natural things, they yield only to correct treatment applied steadily and consistently over a long period of time. Even then, they often yield in ways that are unexpected, could scarcely have been foreseen, and are not always readily recognizable when they come.

Let us not over-rate our infallibility as judges of the results of our own actions in the international field. It is not given to us to see all or to know all. I was taught to believe that we began our national life as a generally religious people, concerned to observe the principles of Christian conduct our fathers had bequeathed to us, but content to leave the issue to the vision and wisdom of Divine Providence. We could use, today, in our relations with our self-appointed Soviet adversaries, something of this clear understanding of the delimitations of human responsibility—something of this concentration on the uprightness and dignity of our own conduct, which is indeed ours to control—and something of readiness to leave to the workings of a Divine Will the effect of our strivings on the progress of mankind.

It is not always that people are privileged to discern in the phenomena of this life the fruits of their own efforts to do what is right and useful. And it is not always that they would be capable of recognizing them if they could see them. In the great problems of public policy—and this is one of them—then let us abandon the strictures of a nervous secularism; let us not try to take upon ourselves all the burdens of the cosmos; let us leave something to the Divine Judgment in which most of us profess to have confidence.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

SPEAKING FOR SPAIN

by Stephen Spender

ROY CAMPBELL, besides being one of the most distinguished poets writing in the English language, has spent many years of his life in Spain, and has perhaps absorbed more of the light and darkness of that country than any other living English poet, and is one of the best living Spanish scholars.

His volume on Lorca is an admirable discussion not only of Lorca, but also of the French symbolists, of Spanish poetry, and of poetry in general. Certain things about Lorca's idiom have not been said better: "Visual image and metaphor are the very idiom in which Lorca thinks and speaks, and they form the *unit* of all the creations of Lorca."

FEDERICO GARCIA LORCA, by Roy Campbell (Yale; $2).

He is excellent when he discusses the relationship of Lorca's imagery to that of Gongora at one extreme and the language of Andalusian peasants at the other. In a telling sentence he writes that Lorca's "Power of enthusiastic perception is merely a matter of vitality—it is not an adopted attitude." This is important for understanding a poet like Lorca, who has unique qualities of imagination rare even among greater poets. Most poets have ideas or feeling which express themselves in images, the thought or emotion preceding, it would seem, the imagery. With Lorca—as perhaps with Dylan Thomas—the image-making faculty seems to precede thinking and feeling, or at events to be fused with it—a stream of images which are his naked ideas. Lorca has an astonishing and fascinating originality which has bewitched many of his contemporaries. But Campbell is right to point out that he may not be the greatest Spanish poet of his generation.

Although Campbell is not averse to polemics, his judgments in this book are restrained. He defines the sense in which Lorca is a regional poet, in whose writing "the cities of Granada, Cordoba and Sevilla, the three capital cities of Andalusia, always recur in that order." At the same time he does not share the view that Lorca is so Spanish that he can only be misunderstood by the foreign reader. He insists on the paradox that Lorca is both regional and accessible, and he points out that when he tries to be "cosmopolitan" in the poems about Whitman and New York he becomes "parochial and provincial." In a close study of the technique of the Romances, he analyzes Lorca's use of assonance. There are interesting asides in which the use of nature in Spanish and Latin poetry is compared with English "nature poetry," and the view of many critics is compared with English "nature poetry," and the view of many critics that Baudelaire's famous sonnet *Correspondences* is the first poem in which images seen are compared with sounds heard, is vigorously contested.

This lively book is marred seriously by what is surely an error in presentation, and less slightly by the kind of polemics which lead Campbell into inaccuracies about his political opponents. The mistake is that all the quotations from Lorca appear in Campbell's own translations and not in the Spanish. One or two translations are literal, and unrhymed; there is little objection to these; though nearly every other reader would surely be able to follow the original, if it were side by side with the English text.

Nearly all the translations provided are ambitious attempts to turn Lorca into Campbell. To my mind they are unsuccessful either as Lorca or Campbell. After reading Mr. Campbell's acute and exact accounts of Spanish poetry, some will be disconcerted to find that in Mr. Campbell's translation, there is little to differentiate Lorca from some poet of mid-Nineteenth Century Victoriana. The unfortunate impression of tum-ti-tum and an outmoded vocabulary (with "tresses" and "moonbeam plays") would be corrected if this translation were set beside the Spanish.

In his translations, Mr. Campbell ignores two of the things most essential to Lorca, both of which he has pointed out in his essay; one, the unit of visual image and metaphor, destroyed by verbs Campbell sticks in where Lorca has only a building up of images; the other, Lorca's use of assonance, perhaps untranslatable, but wrecked by the crashing rhymes in Campbell's version. "Verde viento. Verdes ramas" is an impression only: "Green wind. Green branches."

Mr. Campbell's failure to convey the poetry which he defines so successfully in his criticism will deprive his essay of much of its value unless the reader is warned of it. In certain passages where he is less ambitious and simply gives a literal rendering, he is more successful. His remarks explaining that it is impossible to reproduce in English either Lorca's metre or assonance perhaps do not justify his method of translation, but merely explain why the attempt was wrong. If, for example, one could say that the only way of translating Shakespearean blank verse into French was to put it into Alexandrines, this would be a reason for attempting nothing more ambitious than a free verse or prose version.

Less important than this is the inaccuracy of some of Mr. Campbell's remarks at the opening of his essay, about the position of Lorca in England. It is necessary to stop the creation of a myth that until the appearance of this essay Lorca's name has been used only to make political capital for the extreme Left in England. "As far as England is concerned"—writes Mr. Campbell, "no book about Lorca has so far appeared which has not tried to use him as a political symbol," and he writes of Lorca as having had has name "launched as a martyr of Communism."

This is the kind of comment which is accepted unless it is challenged. In fact it is simply untrue and it is surprising indeed that the press of Yale University should perpetrate this calumny. Gerald Brennan is a great Spanish scholar who has written about Lorca, certainly not as a political symbol. In the first

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translation of Lorca's works to have a wide influence in English (that by Spender and Gili, Dolphin Press, 1939) Mr. Nadal, the editor, writes as follows in his Introduction:

Among the many griefs that Spaniards outside Spain have had to support, no small one has been that of witnessing the attempt to disfigure the poet for political ends. We have seen a personage of note in Spanish life, writing in an English review, number Lorca among "dangerous agitators who abused their talents to lead ignorant masses astray." No less to be censured is the tendenciousness of certain English circles, who seek to make of Lorca a *popular* poet in the class sense, instead of, as he is, the poet of the Spanish people in the racial sense. No protest can be too strong against this use of Lorca's name for purposes of propaganda.

It certainly required courage to publish this in 1939, so soon after the defeat of the Republic. That Mr. Campbell should ignore the Introduction to the best-known selection of Lorca's work in an English translation, lays him open to the charge of making political capital out of Lorca.

CONTROVERSIAL LIBERAL

ACTON'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY, by G. E. Fasnacht (Viking; $4).

ACTON is coming back. For fifty years this Melchizedek among historians, without ancestry and without posterity in the intellectual sense, has subsisted almost exclusively in a single aphorism: "power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely." But historians no less than hats have their vogue which may disappear and then be revived when conditions are right.

Present conditions are exactly right for John Emerich Edward Dalberg Baron Acton, and here is a formal prediction that Mr. Fasnacht's book heralds a long series of studies of the man. For the search for moral certainties among our intellectuals has recently approached the point of frenzy, and Acton's moral certainties are Petrine in their firmness; while at the same time the same intellectuals cower—and with good reason—under a rising fear of the lynching mob, and Acton feared and hated the mob. He is so much to the taste of our time that inevitably he will be swallowed eagerly.

Fasnacht's book is the best available introduction to this somewhat enigmatic figure. It is pedestrian in style, it is repetitious, it is sometimes tedious, but it is not prolix—less than 300 pages—it is accurate, it represents immense industry, and on the whole it is judicious. Lord Acton died without ever having published a book, and his students have had to labor with a mountain of memoranda and fragmentary notes to get at his thought. Fasnacht has made a more complete and logical job of it than any other, and for this he deserves the thanks of all students of government, and especially of the American government; which is odd, in view of the fact that he is a former Oxford don writing for, and at, Englishmen.

Yet the fact remains that what he has proved first of all is what everybody already knew, to wit, that Acton is elusive. He does not seem so. Figgis and Laurence in their introduction to the *History of Freedom* (1907 edition) emphasize the "absence of half-tones in his vein of thought, and of *chiaroscuro* in his imagination"; they seem not to have realized that he was employing crystalline language to state dark obscurities—printing the hieroglyphics of Horapollo in Great Primer type.

But Fasnacht knows it and he has made a conscientious and powerful effort to pin Acton down by showing the relation of ideas that the historian presented in widely-scattered fragments. He is successful to the extent that he reveals a large consistency in what appear to be contradictory passages; but it is this reader's opinion that in the end Acton eludes him as he has eluded others. Take, for example, what seems to be the basis of Acton's philosophy, the dictum that the sole legitimate arbiter of conduct is the "developed conscience." Acton himself explained that by this he meant the inner light, which is the divine in man, refracted through experience and knowledge. Conscience unmodified is not a trustworthy guide; conscience sent John Huss to the stake and made Robespierre incorruptible; so Acton took refuge in the "developed" conscience which, to a less powerful intelligence seems little else than the *daimon* that told Socrates that knowledge is the only good.

Consider, again, the famous definition in the essay on "Freedom in Antiquity": "by liberty I mean the assurance that every man shall be protected in doing what he believes his duty against the influence of authority and majorities, custom and opinion." Magnificent—except for the apparently simple, plain word "his." If his duty happens to be my bane, who then possesses liberty? For Acton, a devout Catholic, this difficulty did not arise, since he believed that God always enlightens the understanding.

Of course he was never a slave to dogma; his fight against the doctrine of infallability almost got him expelled from the communion and his horror of absolutism applied to religion as much as it did to politics. But his faith in the *daimon* renders his definition useless to men who are considering whether Governor Byrnes should be protected in doing what he believes to be his duty in closing the public schools in South Carolina if segregation is abolished.

So it goes. At the critical moment Acton always slips from under the eel-spear and the fisher is left empty-handed. On this is based the widely accepted theory that he presents a case of the temperament of a religious fanatic linked to the intelligence of a philosopher with frustration as the outcome.

Nevertheless, although he may get away in the end, he affords some rare sport, for he did have one of the most powerful minds of the nineteenth century, and an erudition that is positively appalling. A scholar who can see in Rousseau merely an echo of Alcuin of York, in Jefferson of Marisilius, and in Kant of Sarasa, is, to be frank, a baffler for me. I had some slight acquaintance with Alcuin, and I had heard at least the name of Marsilius, but Sarasa put me down for the third time; and learning from reference books that he was a seventeenth-century Jesuit helped little. Doubtless there are some Americans who can read Fasnacht without stretching

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their intellectual seams, but doubtless they are few in number.

But the contemporary value of Acton is derived, not from the 22,000 books he is said to have mastered, but from his ability to pack his learning into pungent phrases. "A government armed with the machinery of the Inquisition is necessarily absolute" is a dictum worth the careful study of a nation emerging from the supervision of the McCarran Committee only to go under that of the Velde Committee. "A people averse to the institution of private property is without the first element of freedom" may cause radicals to gag, but it is supported by massive evidence. "When Christ said, 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's', those words . . . were the repudiation of absolutism and the inauguration of freedom," since they marked off the material from the spiritual and denied the existence of any one authority over both.

This last statement Fasnacht regards as the very heart of Acton's philosophy, which stamps it as a very austere philosophy indeed. For when, like the two women in the Bible, God and Caesar both claim the same baby, it implies that you and I are capable of the judgment of Solomon.

Lord Acton was a liberal if ever there was one, but he was far indeed from being the complete democrat. He regarded the tyranny of majorities as no less savage and detestable than the tyranny of despots. It is interesting to note that he ranks Calhoun as one of the great American political writers; and he accounts federalism the preservative of the American system. The extreme Left will find his thought astringent; but to the extreme Right it is corrosive. It is the broad band of moderate opinion that will find it pleasantly tart.

So to have it assembled in a single, rather small volume is definitely more than a convenience, if definitely less than a new Koran. It is to some extent an intellectual stimulant, to some extent a practical reassurance, to some extent a charming diversion, and to a very large extent an armory of barbed weapons for use against the Philistines.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

THE THUNDERER

THE HISTORY OF THE TIMES, Vol. IV (Macmillan; $14).

THE TIMES, which would not dream of circumscribing itself with the adjective "London," is now well on in its fourth half-century of publication; nearly twenty years ago it began celebrating its 150th birthday (in 1935) with a multivolume, serially issued, history of the paper. The fourth installment, which is itself published in two massive books with a total of 1,182 pages, picks up the story in 1912 and carries it to the beginning of the Second World War, with some additional summary material coming down to 1948.

The Times is certainly one of the three or four most important daily journals published anywhere, and was for many decades probably the most influential newspaper on earth. The new volume, however, has the unpleasant duty of chronicling the saddest days of its life. By 1912, control of the paper had been secretly in the hands of Viscount Northcliffe for four years and was now to be openly acknowledged. For the next decade, until he went completely insane and died, he exerted a powerful and altogether deplorable influence; whatever his abilities may have been in earlier days, his contribution to journalism during most of his last ten years was mere hyperthyroidism, which ended with Northcliffe, in bed, flourishing a loaded revolver at imaginary intruders, and rattling off bushels of incoherent, often abusive, telegrams to all his chief editors, dismissing them today and inviting them to lunch tomorrow.

The period from Northcliffe's death in 1922 to 1939 is not much more cheerful. The paper was now restored to the Walter family, who had controlled it for most of its life, with Col. John Jacob Astor in the background as angel, and a distinguished board of leading citizens as advisers. *The Times* had been reproached for being too anti-German before 1914; and in the period between world wars, as the anonymous author of the history frankly records, it went too far the other way, the editors in London stubbornly ignoring the highly intelligent and realistic warning messages from their Berlin correspondents. To the very last, *The Times* advocated and supported the British policy of appeasement of Hitler that now seems so appallingly mistaken. Many other periodicals and individuals, in all the countries of the Western world, were equally mistaken during that unhappy decade; but *The Times* gave its bad advice in such booming, magnificent English prose that even now, rereading its editorials, one finds it hard to grasp the full ignominy and folly of the course it urged.

Only *The Times*, with its famous passion for anonymity, would publish such a heroic historical study without the name of its author. He has wisely chosen to say much more about public, and especially international, events of these decades than about the story of *The Times* itself, though this is also given in exhaustive detail—probably more exhaustive than most Americans will want. Attention is largely concentrated on Britain's relations with Western Europe, although the author evidently tried conscientiously to include the United States when he could. In the *Times* office, apparently, no document is ever thrown away, and hundreds of long-ago letters, memoranda and news dispatches are printed, quoted or summarized; other historians will be working this rich vein for many years to come. All in all, a history in every way appropriate to and worthy of the great newspaper whose story it tells.

BRUCE BLIVEN

VICTORIAN STUDIES

THE VICTORIAN CONSCIENCE, by Clarence R. Decker (Twayne; $3).

VICTORIAN KNIGHT-ERRANT, by Leon Howard (California; $5).

AMONG the possible ways of assessing the temper of an age, one is to discover how it responded to literary importations hostile to its heritage. Another is to examine in the fullest possible context the making of one of its representative men of letters. Either is a challenging experiment in research likely to illumine the shadowy relations between literature and society.

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BACK DOOR TO *War*

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The Victorian Conscience conducts the first of these experiments with reference to Victorian England by tracing there the critical reception of Balzac, Baudelaire, Zolaesque Naturalism, Ibsen, and the great Russians. *Victorian Knight-Errant* performs the second experiment on Victorian America by demonstrating how its major polarities and minor diversities were mirrored in the early career of James Russell Lowell. Mr. Decker has made a sprightly contribution to the history of taste that no student of modern fiction and drama can afford to ignore. Mr. Howard has added another weighty cubit to his already imposing stature as one of the most methodologically disciplined and stylistically conscious of modern literary biographers.

"Conscience" and "knight-errantry" may suggest that both authors have taken too seriously the stereotype of Victorianism built up in the popular mind by the brilliant debunking of the age of Lytton Strachey, but precisely the opposite is the case. Their experiments debunk the stereotype by revealing the spirit of Victorianism as adventurous and its credo as dynamic. Was it an age primarily of compromise, which is the defeat of creativity by respectability? Or was it an age of mediation, which is creativity's transcendence of conflicting dogmatisms, respectable and otherwise? The answer is inescapable, even if Mr. Howard's Lowell fails in his later development to achieve anything comparable to the kind of mediation that is so much to the credit of some of Mr. Decker's late Victorian "philosophical critics."

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CAPITAL BARRISTERS

THE WASHINGTON LAWYER, by Charles A. Horsky (Little, Brown; $3.75).

THE GENUS of lawyers indigenous to Washington has been subjected to a skillful and incisive examination by Charles A. Horsky, himself a prominent representative of that clan. In a series of lectures delivered last spring at Northwestern Law School, he has cast a penetrating light upon the professional characteristics, activities and morality of those whose legal work in the capital city is marked by the direct impact of the federal government upon their clients.

Too often the Washington lawyer is thought of in terms of the influence peddler, the man who has an inside track at some government bureau. Truly there are a few who may be so denominated. But their effectiveness, while spectacular in some instances, is generally of a minute nature. And they are likely to be either incompetent or uninterested in supplying helpful professional advice.

By far the greater proportion of the capital's legal fraternity is engaged in the very legitimate and necessary business of representing the interests of far-flung clientele before the manifold and complex giant known as the federal government. These lawyers must not only interpret their clients' problems to the government. They must also interpret and rationalize the government's problems to their clients and help enforce the government's mandates. In so doing, they often enter very directly into the legislative, executive, administrative and judicial functions of the government. For that reason they play an increasingly important role in the process of government. He who would understand that process must appreciate the role played by the Washington lawyer.

Mr. Horsky has given us the first real analysis of this situation in all its ethical and public interest connotations. The problems created by lobbying activities and by the legal practice of those who have previously served with the government are subjected to searching and constructive inquiry. This is indeed an important study of the legal ramifications of big government.

EUGENE GRESSMAN

THE AMERICAN PRESS

THE NEWS IN AMERICA, by Frank Luther Mott (Harvard; $4.50).

THIS BOOK, by the dean emeritus of the School of Journalism, University of Missouri, is a friendly report on the American newspaper. He goes no farther in criticism than to suggest that newspapers should print less triviality; he thinks that the trend toward monopoly, which worries Morris Ernst and others, "results from the operation of economic laws which would be about as hard to repeal as the schedule of tides at the Bay of Fundy." Most of the work is an exposition, for the uninformed layman, of how the news is gathered, edited, and printed.

B.B.

GUILDING THE LILLI

by Eric Bentley

THE LOVE OF FOUR COLONELS, by Peter Ustinov, now playing at the Shubert, is either too serious or not serious enough—probably the former. And since the consistency with which it misses the mark is too great to be fortuitous, it may not be impertinent to discuss how such things can be.

We inherit from what might be called the puritan-philistine tradition a fatal separation of the funny and the serious; we are predisposed to believe that if a statement is amusing it probably isn't true and certainly isn't important; conversely, we admire gravity, and are slow to see the stupidity it usually conceals. To rebel against this tradition has seldom been to question the fatal separation itself. It has only been to champion the other side, to be the spokesman of unseriousness, to deny the importance of being earnest. This partial rebellion has become vocal again since the war, especially in England, where one of the younger dramatic critics has written: "I believe in superficiality, I believe in shallowness." Today such a declaration is so uninteresting, one wonders how it could have rung with challenge when Wilde made it half a century ago. The main reason, I suppose, is precisely *that* Wilde made it: it's all right to say you're superficial if you're not. Then again, for a mere pose, fifty years is a ripe old age.

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But bad habits die hard and it remains easier to get a reputation for sincerity if you have no sense of humor, just as it remains easier to "shine in the high esthetic line" if you have no sincerity. Our theatre—playwrights, directors, and designers—tends towards the extremes of the sordidly naturalistic and the vacuously aesthetic. An increasing number of actors gravitates toward one of these poles or the other. You notice it in their dress and conversation: this one, dirty and unshaven, in T-shirt, leather jacket, and jeans, discourses about the new play he is in, all alcohol and abortion; that one, clean and dainty, in colored waistcoat, carrying an umbrella, talks of the 18th-century vases he has just seen in the antiquary's window.

Since Mr. Ustinov, actor and playwright, has not moved irrevocably to either pole, one may at first be tempted to hope that he will keep away from both. What he actually does is to oscillate between the two—disconcertingly, because he is more at home at one pole than the other. This is the pole of frivolity. As a man has in the end to be himself, or nothing, I cannot but recommend that Mr. Ustinov accept his destiny by embracing frivolity and sending seriousness on her way. In *The Love of Four Colonels,* every shred of explicit edification could be cut without loss. Phrases like a "man hypnotized by his own mediocrity" might pass in many plays but, here, there is no context to support them. The same is true of apophthegms like: "The French genius is the genius of mistrust." As for: "Then would I taste of that better thing they call reality . . ." Why not: *then I would* or: *then I'd like to*? The word *reality* here, like the words *charity* and *perfection*, in the play's peroration, must go. Having got rid of the ballast of dull moralizing, Mr. Ustinov's ship of humor must fare as it can with whatever cargo of moral implication the humor carries with it. And here some really pleasant qualities emerge. Or rather they would emerge if the Theatre Guild production let them. Under the paraphernalia of production lies an agreeable jest about our disunited United Nations. At a Saturday night party—or perhaps at a cosy, old-fashioned London matinée where tea and cakes are brought in at intermission—this play, stripped of its generalizings, might be very funny and would undoubtedly be relaxing. But not only is this production no joke; it is tense with effort. We all know how a play is prepared for Broadway, the prolonged agony of doctoring it goes through. What we too easily forget is that agony has after-effects. It shows. Whereas art, including theatre art, seems effortless.

You may say that a little play is lucky to get so big a production; in that case, the more gilt on the lily, the better. This show is neither lovely to look at, nor well acted. Rolf Gerard's sets are elaborate without being beautiful: what could be worse? If overproduction was the aim, Lemuel Ayres, let us say, could have made sure it was also handsome. Among the actors, there are no untalented people. It was all the more galling to see bad performances. Larry Gates and Robert Coote as the American and English colonel respectively are exceptions: lucky in having the humorous and not the philosophical lines, they provide most of the evening's fun. The reality these characters have, though on a "low" plane, is far preferable to the unreality of the Frenchman and the Russian who are seen on the "high" plane of ideology: inevitably perhaps, Messrs. George Voskovec and Stefan Schnabel come to grief in these parts. I was curious to see Miss Leueen McGrath for the first time; her role of good fairy let me see precisely nothing. Reginald Mason's name I knew as that of the first Laudisi in America; his director had him run the small gamut of clichés for the stage Old Man. . . .

The director is also the leading man: Rex Harrison. I once saw a production in which a whole cast was kept stationary in a close circle throughout an act, while the leading man, with complete freedom of movement, described larger circles around them, doubled back, and darted between them *ad lib*. Mr. Harrison's directing is not quite like this, and even if it were one would forgive it—provided that he brought what all this pomp and circumstance leads us to expect, a great performance. Instead we have the shadow of a star without the substance; a manner, not a style. He breezes on, his role of bad fairy entitles him (sort of) to a phony voice and a phony walk, he lies languidly on the table (trust actors to find uncomfortable places to lie in), and proceeds to manipulate a flexible wrist. Well, the audience knows who it is, the *mana* of kingship is in our midst, and when this our tribal monarch walks in later with a false beard on, the lady next to me says: Isn't he marvelous? Lilli Palmer does a version of 18th-century comedy that would do credit to RADA's best student of the year and one of an American floozy that she can improve by learning an American accent. Marvelous!

Mr. Harrison and Miss Palmer have indeed given first-rate performances in their time. But in what sort of drama? What sort of production? The best work of Mr. Harrison's that I've seen was in the film of *Major Barbara*. In those days his face was not that of a mere public figure, a hollow Man of Distinction, it had the vastly more heartening lineaments of a real man. Miss Palmer's best work over here is generally held to be her Cleopatra (also in Shaw): another part that requires only one sort of distinction, that of simplicity. What is the incentive that drives an actor from the art of acting, in its living simplicity, to sophistication without grace, bigness without grandeur, death without dignity? Ambition should be made of sterner stuff.

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